WASHINGTON, D. C.

For the National Era. FREE LABOR IN TROPICAL PRODUCTIONS. Emancipation in the British West Indies. INTRODUCTORY.

Boston, July 4, 1858. To the Editor of the National Era: I resided fifty days in December and January last in the beautiful island of Barbados, West Indies, and spent much of the time in collecting information relating to the great subject of Negro Emancipation. I found all classes, from the highest to the lowest, ready and willing to aid me orally, and in furnishing written replies to a set of questions I had prepared. I send you the letters I received in response, for publication in the Era, if you think they will do good, and tend to satisfy our Southern brethhighest to the lowest, ready and willing to aid good, and tend to satisfy our Southern breth-ren that it would be both safe and profitable to

let the bond go free. Barbados is twenty miles long and fourteen wide. The surface of the island is low, and is diversified by gently-undulating hills, the highest of which rises 1,147 feet above the sea. The mean annual temperature at noon is about 80°. The great staple or product of the island is sugar; and it is cultivated from one end to the other, like a garden, by happy, free laborers. Land is worth twice as much as it was during slavery, and the exports of sugar have greatly increased since the laborers were emancipated.

The price paid for a task or day's work seems

but it must be considered that the la borer lives almost entirely upon vegetables and fruits raised upon his own land, and that he needs no fire to warm him. even in winter. Be sides, twenty five cents a day is the price paid in some parts of the United States for labor. Mr. Helper, of North Carolina, says, in his

"In my own immediate neighborhood, less than thirty young women, non-slaveholding whites, between the ages of 15 and 25, labor in the fields every summer, and that for 25 cents

According to the census of 1851, it would appear that the total population of Barbados was 135,939—15,824 whites, 30,059 colored, and 90,056 negroes. The emancipated, in their peace-able behaviour at least, show themselves worthy of the boon of freedom; affording an example, ever to be remembered, of the influence of justice and humanity, in allaying the angry passions and promoting good will and order, those best bonds of society. Not a single outrage was committed in the excitement of emancipation, not a single act of revenge was perpetrated, then or after. There appeared to be a complete oblivion or forgiveness of all past wrongs and hard usage—all bad feelings seemed to be overpowered by one of gratitude for the benefit Yours, respectfully,

CHARLES TAPPAN. CIRCULAR. BARBADOS, W. I., January, 1858.

What are the advantages resulting, in thi Island, from the Abolition of Slavery? 1. What is the religious condition, at thi

time, of the Island generally, and the emancipated classes in particular, compared with that during Slavery? And in how far may the emancipation be supposed to have affected it? 2. What is the state of education now, con pared with what it was under Slavery? 3. Is there less crime now than formerly, and

4. What is the price of land now, and what was it under Slavery? And whether the investment is considered more advantageous now than

5. Is there greater security of person and property now than there was in the state of Sla-6. Generally speaking, is the day's work of

the free laborer for wages greater or less than was that of the slave? And in what propor-7. What was the estimated cost of slave le por per diem-faking into account the propor-

of workers to slaves, the interest and risk of the investment in them, the law and other charges to keep them in order, as well as maintenance in food, clothing, &c .- and what is 8. Do the laborers usually work by the day or job, or both? And how many hours consti-

9. Are the estates, generally speaking, better or worse cultivated under free labor than they

10. Comparing the cost of production, on the whole, with the quantity of produce raised, apart from its actual market value, has that cost been increased or diminished under the free labor system? And are there any modifying circumtances, other than Emancipation, that might be supposed to have contributed to that result 11. Is Emancipation generally acknowledged in this Island to be a blessing? And if not, by what particular class or classes is it considered

12. Has there been, at any time since Eman cipation, any manifestation of vengeful feelings on the part of the emancipated, for the things endured in Slavery? 13. Do the laborers usually take a greater

interest in the Estate than under Slavery? 14. What time do the usual engagements for Estate labor leave them for house work, or work in their own grounds? 15. Are houses furnished them rent free or

the Estates? Or, if they pay rent, how is i rated, and what are the conditions? 16. Are laborers required to pay any taxes peculiarly affecting their condition and circum-

17. Have they the right of voting equally with other classes? 18. On the whole, have they been benefited

or otherwise by emancipation, and in what re 19. What is the present condition of the poor whites? And how have they been affected by

CHARLES TAPPAN From his Excellency F. Hincks. Governor the Five Windward Islands. West Indies. GOVERNMENT HOUSE, BARBADOS.

January 9, 1858. MY DEAR SIR: I willingly comply with your request, that I should communicate to you the opinions which I have formed as to the results of the abolition of Slavery in the British West Indies, as well in their bearing on the civiliza-tion of the emancipated classes, as on the gen-eral prosperity of the colonies. I do this the more readily, because, being thoroughly per-suaded that most erroneous opinions on this important subject prevail generally, both in rope and America, I think that every pos-

dition of these colonies. The errors to which I shall more especiall advert are, first, the assertion that slave labor is cheaper than free. Secondly, the charge of habitual indolence advanced against the creoles of African descent, which has led, it is alleged, to the abandonment of the sugar estates, and the consequent ruin of the proprietors.

sible assistance should be given to those who

take the trouble to inquire into the actual con-

On the first point, viz: the comparative cost of free and slave labor, I believe that little it any difference of opinion prevails among the proprietors of this island. It is, however, much to be regretted that the West Indian planters have more than once, since the period of eman cipation, made formal complaints to the large-rial Parliament, founded on their inability to compete in the production of sugar by free la bor with the slave labor of foreign countries. on, made formal complaints to the Impe-

The object of the complainants doubtless was to obtain a continuance of the protective duties then levied upon foreign sugars. I can, however, state with confidence, that many who however, state with confidence, that many who at one time held the opinion that the increased production of sugar in Cuba was to be attributed to the cheapness of slave labor, have long since discovered their error. For my own part, I entertain no doubt that the productiveness of Cuba is to be mainly attributed to its rich virgin soil, on which ratooning can be carried on for many years with little labor. Land in that island is abundant and cheap, and labor is in great demand for clearing and preparing it for cultivation.

It must be borne in mind that field labor is but one item among many in the cost of pro-ducing sugar. Other items, such as the main-tenance of stock, lumber, manures, expenses of management, skilled workmen, casks, &c., must

Labor in the field and boiling house . £1,200 Other items mentioned above Interest on capital (8 per cent.) on

The foregoing is a very full (I think an un-exaggerated) estimate of the cost of labor and other expenses, but the interest is not excessive. Money so invested ought to yield 8 per cent; and the price estimated, £30,000, for an estate capable of yielding 200 hogsheads, is below that at which late sales have been made. The estimate of labor and other expenses is based upon one furnished by two agricultural societies in this island some years ago; but I shall have occasion, before I close this letter, to furnish you with the actual cost of I have made many inquiries as to the relative cost of production in other colonies in this Government, which comprises Barbados, St. Vincent, Grenada, St. Lucia, and Tobago. The rate of wages is about the same in all, except Tobago, where it is rather less. It varies from 10 pence to one shilling for men, 71 to 10 pence for women, and 6 pence for children. work prevails generally in this island. The wages are not higher in any of the leeward islands, and in some of them they are lower. In British Guiana and Trinidad, wages are considerably higher than in the other col-onies, and the demand for labor is increasing. I do not believe that in any of the other col-onies estates are worth anything like what they are in Barbados; and consequently they could all afford to give a much higher rate of wages. In Trinidad, as in Cuba, uncultivated and can be obtained from Government at a very moderate price. The value of the products of a sugar estate, the expense of which I have stated above, may be estimated as fol 200 hhds. of sugar, averaging 15 cwt. net in England, at £25 Rum, molasses, and provisions

You will perceive that wages might be considerably increased at present prices, without real estate experiencing any material decline. Such is the result of the cultivation of sugar by free labor. Property, I need scarcely observe, has advanced in the islands much beyond its value in the time of Slavery. But what I desire to impress chiefly upon you is, that where rich land adapted to sugar cultivation can be obtained cheap as in Trinidad and Cuba, the price of labor is of secondary importance. Every effort will be used to obtain labor at any price; and with equal facilities for getting to market, the old plantations could no more compete with the new ones, than your lands in New England with the rich virgin soils of the Mississippi valley.

I have but little means of comparing the

present cost of slave and free labor. I have no doubt, however, from what I have heard, that the slaves in Cuba are worked much harder than they were in the British West Indies, or than they now are in the United States. The fairest test, perhaps, of the comparative cost of slave and free labor, is to compare the wages paid to the free laborer with the rate demand ed by those who let out slaves to hire. The owners of slaves in Cuba are in the habit of hiring them in gangs; and I understand that the rate some years ago, when sugar was much lower in price, was \$17 per month, which, allowing 26 working days, would be 65 cents per day—a rate far exceeding the price of free labor in any of the British colonies. I am not certain whether the food is provided by the owner, or by the person hiring the slaves. On these points I shall have further information ere long; but as you intend to visit Havana you will be able to make inquiries on the spot As to the relative cost of slave and free labor in this colony, I can supply you with facts, in the proprietor of an estate containing 300 acres of land, and situated at a distance of about twelve miles from the shipping port. The

equal on an average to 140 hogsheads of sugar of the present weight, and required 230 slaves. It is now worked by 90 free laborers—60 adults, and 30 under 16 years of age. Its average produ t during the last seven years has been 194 hogsheads. The total cost of labor has peen £770 16s., or £31 9s. 2d. per hogshead of 1,700 pounds. The average of pounds of sugar to each laborer during Slavery was 1,043 pounds, and during freedom, 3,664 pounds. To estimate the cost of slave labor, the value of 230 slaves must be ascertained; and I place them at what would have been a low average, £50 sterling each, which would make the entire stock amount to £11,500. This, at 62 per cent. interest, which on such property is much too low an estimate, would give . £690 Cost of clothing, food, and medical at-

tendance, I estimate at £3 10s. . or £10 12s. 0d. per hogshead, while the cost f free labor on the same estate is under £4. The cost of maintenance of slaves is a point on which I have not been able to get any reliable

nformation. The bighest estimate I have had s £8; the lowest, £3. It is a point of no importance now, as far as these colonies are concerned; but in comparing the cost of free labor with slave, in the present day, it is desirable to be accurate. I have been told that the average cost in Cuba is \$30 per annum; and if so, here can be no doubt that this, added to the nterest on the value of the slaves, would bring ip the cost of labor to a much higher price han that given for free labor in any of the British colonies. per head of slaves must be calculated on the entire population-men, women, and childrenconsiderable per centage of which will furnish labor in return. It may interest you to know

the demparative value of property in this island during Slavery and Freedom. The estate just referred to, containing 300 acres of land, was worth, during Slavery, £50 per acre, or £15,000; and I have estimated the slaves round at £50 each, which would be £11,500. I am not aware what the compensation money amounted to per head in Barbados, but I have no doubt to £30, at least. After the award of compensation for the slaves, the estate was sold during the apprenticeship for £25,000, and was purchased a few years ago, by the present proprietor, for £30,000—which price have no doubt he could obtain for it at any moment. It is proper that I should add, that I have taken the estate, regarding which I have furnished you with the foregoing particulars, as furnishing a fair illustration of he comparative productiveness and cost of

cultivation during Slavery and Freedom. I could multiply instances in which there have been similar results. I shall now proceed to the consideration of the complaint against the creoles of African descent, that they are indolent, and that they have abandoned the sugar plantations. This is a subject involved in much greater difficulty than the one on which I have already treated. ever, bound to affirm, that after a most patient investigation, I have been unable to arrive at such a conclusion. There is no doubt that the condition of the laboring classes ought to be worse in Barbados than in any of the other colonies. In Barbados, land is exorbitantly dear, being worth in small quantities from \$400 to \$600 per acre. Wages are from ten peace to one shilling per day, as I have already stated. There are only five working days in the week, except during crop time. With all the week, except during crop time. With an these disadvantages, the small proprietors in this island holding less than five acres of land, increased in sixteen years from about 1,100 to 3.537. I doubt much whether such a proof of industrious habits could be furnished with regard to a similar class of laborers in any other country in the world. I adduce the above re-markable fact to prove that in this island there country in the world. I adduce the above remarkable fact to prove that in this island there has been no want of industry on the part of the creoles of African descent. I think that in those colonies in which the sugar estates have been partially abandoned, we must look to other causes than the indolence of the laborers. In all those colonies, land is abundant, and

He is an extensive as icalturist, and like-wise a manufacturer. It besse on this he requires a considerable cap al to e able him to succeed. I believe that he most a chiable employment for labor in he West It . s is the cultivation of the sugar ane, de rially prices anything like the resent a suld be naintained. What, then, have been in inducepaents held out to the laborers to you k upon the sugar plantations? In Barbace I have explained already that wiges have an ed from ten pence to one shilling per task. rlinat rate prevails generally, with he excet for of Guiana and Trinidad. In addition to her wages, small allotment of land is usup 'g 'en, but on a most uncertain tentre. The ab er may be ejected at any time on a few expendice, and he is subjected to per alties for wo vorking on the estate. I am fully convinued hat the abandonment of the est les is owir nore to the tenure, on which alcae the pla is would lease land, than to any other cause at t would have been a wise policy for a protector to have given leases of smill allotments in perpetuity, redeemable by the full printer of the capital. It would have been the common interest of the laborer and proprietor at such and should be cultivated in canes, which the tenant would necessarily have to br a, to the mill of the proprietor; and this wand have tended to keep up a good or less anding. Liberal wages would have induced sten tenants o labor on the estates, waich they con I easily have done, without inter-ering Si-a their own cultivation. The rate of wages should be reglated by the price of mgar. If he abovers found that when high prices prevail. I, their wages were increased in proportion, they would willingly submit to reduction during a period of low prices. Their experience in some colonies, I regret to say, has been, that was shave been reduced when the prices of sugar have been low, but there has been no disposition to increase them in times of prosperity. It seems almost incomprehensible that labor should be diverted to so great an extent, in the British colonies to the region of prosperity. colonies, to the raising of provisions, for which there is but a limited market, when it could be so much more profitably employed in the cultivation of the cane. The cause, however, can only be assigned to the insufficiency of the in-ducements held out to the laboring classes. My belief is, that whenever sufficient inducenents are offered, labor can be obtained. I am not, however, of opinion that high trages consti-tute the best kind of inducement. On the contrary, looking to the nature of the demand for labor, which during the reaping and manufacture of the crop is much greater than at any other time, I think that the true policy would be, to encourage t e industrious classes o combine labor on the r own account with labor for the proprietors. The encouragement, which I believe would be sufficient, would be the concession of small illotmens of land at fair rents, but on such a lenure as would render the laborer independent. It may be said, that if so situated, he would refuse to work for hire. But if, as I contend, the prost valuable agricultural product is he sugar cane, the proprietor would be able to hold out a sufficient inducement to his tenants to labor, by furnish ing them with hoilities for the manufacture of their crop; and even viewing the case in the

worst point of view for the proprietor, he would get an ample rent for his land. I ascribe the indolence of the craple laborers. n a great degree, to the nature of their pursuits. They have not been enabled to raise on their own account any product, for which there is an expert demand. They have chiefly been engaged in the raising of provisions, for which there is only a local sale; and as increased production would cause r. decline of price, there is no inducement to in lustry. I cannot help thinking that the capitalists and laborers would have long since come t satisfactory understanding, as to the terms on which the cultivation of the cane should be carried on, but for the facilities afforded to the former of obtaining labor by emigration from other countries. The effect of this emigration has been to render the proprietary body more independent of creole labor, and less wiling to offer the necessary inducements. There is at present a very active demand for owing to the high prices of sugar which have recently prevailed; and in several of the colo-

it would, I presume, be impossible to supply it rom the native population. Believing, as I have reason to do, that there no probability of any extensive emigration from Africa to the West Indies, and that for many reasons Coolie emigration should be avoided, if possible, my earnest desire would be that some satisfactory arrangement should be made, by which free negroes from the United States and Canada could be induced to settle in the West Indies. It is, however, vain for the planters to look for emigration from Amer. | the people of Kansas. Am I correct? ca, unless they offer much greater inducements than they have ever yet done. Cheap land, on a satisfactory tenure, combined with fair wages, would, I am inclined to think, operate as an encouragement to the free negroes of America to emigrate, as they would find the the Lecompton Constitution, provided I

nies, particularly British Guiann and Trinidad,

Northern States or Canada. The rate of wages ought to be one shilling and six pence per task; and I may observe, that an ordinary task can be finished with ease by an able-bodied man by noon, so that the rate of wages is really higher in the West Indies than would be supposed from its nominal land, from half an acre to two acres, according to the number in a family, should be leased in option of becoming the purchaser, by paying mit such an act to be passed. up the capital. I am unaware of the value of and in Guiana, but in any of the other cole. nies, £25 per acre for land within half a mile nducements would be sufficient to direct the migration of the free negroes from the United States to the West Indies, I am anable to say; but less, I am convinced, need not be offered. The preceding remarks apply chiefly to those points affecting the interests of the pl nters. In this island, there can be no dot at whatever, emancipation has been a great boon to all classes. Real estate has increased in price, and is a more certain and advantageo s investment than in the time of Slavery. Ti sestates are much better and more economica y cultivated, and the proprietors are, I am inclined to think, perfectly contented. In other colonies, the proprietors have suffered from a variety of causes. It would be unjust to blame hem for not having adopted a wiser policy tou ards the laboring classes. They, as a gene al rule, meant to act liberally, and, I have to doubt, believe that they have been treated with in-gratitude. I am, nevertheless, convinced that the laboring classes have been blamed without cause. The tenure of land (a tenanc; at will) on the estates has driven the labor is from them. They have purchased or lea ed land elsewhere, it being cheap and abund, at; and there has not been an adequate indus ment in the form of wages offered to then by the estates. The majority of the proprie ars were overwhelmed with debt at the period of eman cipation; the value of property had by a much too high; and these causes, combined with the reduction in the price of sugar, have roduced much individual distress. It has bee a most serious evil, too, that so many We. Indian proprietors have been non residents: 'his evil, lowever, will cure itself in time. Property has been changing hands of late; an eventu-ally, I have no doubt that the proprie ors gen-

erally will live on their own estates, and save the heavy expense of management. With regard to the condition of th African race, I can answer your queries with annixed satisfaction, and with the conviction; at there will be little if any difference of opini , among

referred to in your printed queries, which I have not had occasion to touch on. It is impossible to compare the present statistics of crime with those during Slavery, when the great bulk of our ordinary offences, petty thefts and assaults, were summarily punished by the managers and overseers of estates. You have had an opportunity to satisfy yourself that the of-fences in this island are not of an aggravated character. That there is much greater security for person and property now than there was during Slavery, does not admit of a doubt.

In Barbados, there is a complete separation between rent and wages, which is clearly the wisest policy; but I fear that this island is an exception to the colonies generally. Risewhere, as I have already explained, it was deemed expedient to lease small allotments, from half an acre to one or even two acres, on sufferance, no rent being charged, if continuous labor were given. Rent was made a sort of fine for not laboring; and in case of dispute, summary ejecta.ent followed, the laborer having to move his kouse and crops, or sell them at great dis-advantage. This wretched system, I firmly believe, has led to the abandonment of the estates in those colonies where land could be obtained on a different tenure; and, generally speaking, there is no difficulty in obtaining In all colonies, the laborers have abundant time to cultivate their own grounds. Indeed there is no such thing as hard work performed by any class of the population, from the highest to the lowest. est to the lowest.

There are no taxes peculiarly affecting laborers. The elective franchise is generally high, but there are no class distinctions. The

prejudices regarding color are, I think, fast dying away. Strangers are apt to exaggerate the social distinctions, and to attribute to prejudices regarding race or color, that which proceeds from entirely different causes. The classes of society are more marked in the West Indies than they are in America. As in England, there has been in the West Indies a wealthy class of landed proprietors, on which the masses, who are mere laborers, depend for employment. There is also see in Fally and the control of the ployment. There is also, as in England, a niddle class, consisting of the smaller proprie tors, traders, and mechanics. This last-named class in Barbados is intelligent and active, and is striving to attain political power and advance-ment. You will find that the higher class in Barbados is generally white, the middle class colored, and the laboring class black. There are, of course, exceptions to this remark. There are very poor whites, and wealthy men of color, and of unmixed African descent, and many of all shades, in the middle class. In some of the other colonies, the higher class has almost disappeared, owing to absenteeism and other causes; and you will therefore find more per-

colonies than in Barbados.

The opinions which I have expressed in this letter have been formed after patient and impartial inquiry, and are sincerely held. I am bound, however, to add, that few of the plant-ers would admit that I have assigned correct reasons for the abandonment of the estates by he laborers. I wish very much that the experiment could be tried of cultivating an estate in accordance with the principles which I have aid down.

Meantime, it is sufficient for me further to observe, that it is generally admitted that the negro understands his own interest; and if, as all agree, the most profitable cultivation in these islands is that of the sugar cane, it must follow that the creole would pursue that branch of industry, if sufficient inducements were held out to him. I maintain that wherever those inducements are offered, he invariably does labor at cane cultivation.

Believe me, my dear sir, yours, very truly, F. HINCKS. Charles Tappan, Esq.

KANSAS-LECOMPTON CONSTITUTION. SPEECH OF HON, JAMES H. HAMMOND. OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

ON THE ADMISSION OF KANSAS.

The Senate, as in Committee in the Whole having under consideration the bill for the admission of the State of Kansas in the Union-Mr. HAMMOND said: Mr. PRESIDENT: In the debate which

occurred in the early part of the last month, I understood the Senator from Illinois [Mr. Douglas] to say that the question of the reception of the Lecomp ton Constitution was narrowed down to a single point. That point was, whether that Constitution embodied the will of

Mr. Douglas. The Senator is correct, with this qualification: I could climate much more suitable to them than the was satisfied that it was the act and ereignty." In all countries and in all made by some of them, as I understood. deed of that people, and embodied their the others I could overcome, if this point were disposed of.

Mr. HAMMOND. I so understood the Senator. I understood that if he could rate. But it should be rigidly insisted on, as a be satisfied that this Constitution emcondition to any system of emigration, that bodied the will of the people of Kansas. bodied the will of the people of Kansas, all other defects and irregularities could perpetuity, at a rent equal to six per cent, on be cured by the act of Congress, and the value; and that the tenant should have the that he himself would be willing to per-Now, sir, the only question is, how is

that will to be ascertained; and upon of the sugar works would be a high rate. In that point, and that only, we shall differ. some colonies it should be less. Whether such In my opinion, the will of the people of Kansas is to be sought in the act of her lawful Convention elected to form a Constitution, and nowhere else; and that it is unconstitutional and dangerous to seek it elsewhere. I think that the Senator fell into a fundamental error in his report dissenting from the report of the majority of the Territorial Committee, when he said that the Convention which framed this Constitution was the creature of the Territorial Legislature;" and from that error has probably arisen all his subsequent errors on this subject. How can it be possible that a Convention should be the creature of a Territorial Legislature? The Convention was an assembly of the people in their highest sovereign capacity, about to perform their highest possible act of ture is a mere provisional Government; by the Congress of the United States, without a particle of sovereign power. Shall that interfere with a sovereigntyinchoate, but still a sovereignty? Why, Congress cannot interfere; Congress cannot confer on the Territorial Legislature the power to interfere. Congress is not sovereign. Congress has sovereign powers, but no sovereignty: will of any people, and, therefore, Congress is not sovereign. Nor does Congress hold the sovereignty of Kansas. The sovereignty of Kansas resides, if it resides anywhere, with the sovereign States of this Union. They have con-

course in Canada, which the creck of African descent does in Guiana are frinided. He endeavors to get land of his (wn, an.) tecome a proprietor instead of a latorer.

Unfortunately, the plantices have no relation their estates. Such at least is no spinion. A West Indian planter for over two of the superise of its luminity. A West Indian planter for over two of the superise of its luminity. A West Indian planter for over two of the superise of its luminity. A west Indian planter for over two of the superise of its luminity. A west Indian planter for over two of the companion of the superise of its luminity. A west Indian planter for over two of the companion of the superise of its luminity. A west Indian planter for over two of the companion of the superise of its luminity. A west Indian planter for over two of the companion of the superise of its luminity. A west Indian planter for over two of the companion of the superise of its luminity. A west Indian planter for over two of the companion of the superise of its luminity. A west Indian planter for over two of the companion of the superise of its luminity. A west Indian planter for over two of the companion of the superise of its luminity. A west Indian planter for over two of the companion of the superise of the companion of the there, a social compact created, a sov- and set up a Government in place of it, not cramp us with navigation laws, and

> its acts, whether the Convention repre- its Constitution. sented the will of the people of Kansas or not; for a Convention of the people is, according to the theory of our Governpeople elected it, THE PEOPLE, bona fide, being the only way in which all the cases of such gross and palpable frauds gress can with propriety do little more than inquire if her Constitution is re- duty of examining them. publican. That it embodies the will of for granted, if it is their lawful act. I sufficient.

If what I have said be correct, then it is the will of a majority of the people A Convention, elected in April, may well frame a Constitution that would people of a new State, rapidly filling up, stitution, and another was to be framed, in the slow way in which we do public the United States. business in this country, before it would reach Congress and be passed, perhaps the majority would be turned the other way. Whenever you go outside of the I have very great doubts whether the regular forms of law and Constitutions

do not know that that would be an ob- authors of the Kansas-Nebraska bill ; jection to it. Constitutions are made and I am not sure that they have not for minorities. Perhaps minorities ought | brought about this imbroglio for the to have the right to make Constitutions, very purpose. They tell us that year The Constitution of this Government beaten at the polls! They have always of these wholesale, frightful sacrifices of life was made by a minority, and as late as had a majority, but they always get 1840 a minority had it in their hands, beaten! How could that be? It does of a train at high speed. and could have altered or abolished it; seem, from the most reliable sources of for, in 1840, six out of the twenty-six information, that they have a majority States of the Union held the numerical and have had a majority for some time.

The Senator from Illinois has, upon and taken possession of the Government, his view of the Lecompton Constitution and made a Free-State Constitution, and and the present situation of affairs in brought it here? We should all have Kansas, raised a cry of "popular sov- voted for its admission cheerfully. There ereignty." The Senator from New York can be but one reason: if they had [Mr. Seward] yesterday made himself | brought, as was generally supposed at facetious about it, and called it "squat- the time the Kansas-Nebraska act was ter sovereignty." There is a popular passed would be the case, a Free-State sovereignty which is the basis of our Constitution here, there would have waive the irregularity, and agree to the Government, and I am unwilling that been no difficulty among the Northern reception of Kansas into the Union under | the Senator should have the advantage | Democrats; they would have been susof confounding it with "squatter sov- tained by their people. The statement time, it is well understood that the that that act was a good Free-State act, will. There are other objections; but numerical majority of the people could, would have been verified, and the Northif they chose, exercise the sovereignty ern Democratic party would have been of the country; but for want of intel- sustained. But its coming here a Slave ligence, and for want of leaders, they State, it is hoped, will kill that party, have never yet been able successfully to and that is the reason they have re combine and form a stable popular frained from going to the polls; that is Government. They have often attempt- the reason they have refrained from ed it, but it has always turned out, instead of a popular sovereignty, a pop- the power. They intend to make it a ulace sovereignty; and demagogues, placing themselves upon the movement, their purpose of destroying the Demohave invariably led them into military cratic party at the North, and now their despotism.

I think that the popular sovereignty For one, I am not disposed to discuss which the Senator from Illinois would | that question here in any abstract form. derive from the acts of his Territorial I think the time has gone by for that. Legislature, and from the information Our minds are all made up. I may be received from partisans and partisan willing to discuss it-and that is the presses, would lead us directly into pop- | way it should be and must be discussedulace, and not popular sovereignty. as a practical thing, as a thing that is, Genuine popular sovereignty never existed on a firm basis except in this country. The first gun of the Revolution announced a new organization of it. which was embodied in the Declaration of Independence, developed, elaborated, and inaugurated forever in the Constitution of the United States. The two pillars of it were Representation and fought and won." Although I knew the Ballot-box. In distributing their and had long known it to be true, I was sovereign powers among the various departments of the Government, the peo- that he had been entrapped into a hasty ple retained for themselves the single expression by the sharp rebukes of the power of the ballot-box; and a great Senator from New Hampshire; and I sovereignty. The Territorial Legisla- power it was. Through that they were was glad to learn yesterday his words able to control all the departments of had been well considered—that they a petty corporation, appointed and paid the Government. It was not for the meant all that I thought they meant; people to exercise political power in de- that they meant that the South is a contail; it was not for them to be annoyed quered province, and that the North inwith the cares of Government; but, tends to rule it. He said that it was from time to time, through the ballot- their intention "to take this Governbox, to exert their sovereign power and ment from unjust and unfaithful hands, control the whole organization. This is and place it in just and faithful hands; popular sovereignty, the popular sover- that it was their intention to consecrate eignty of a legal constitutional ballot- all the Territories of the Union to free box; and when spoken through that labor; and that, to effect their purposes, Congress has no power to act outside of the limitations of the Constitution; no political purposes, "is the voice of Court. right to carry into effect the supreme God; " but when it is heard outside of Yesterday, the Senator said, suppose that, it is the voice of a demon, the tocsin of the reign of terror.

In passing, I omitted to answer a

there, a social compact created, a soveright born as it were upon the soil, then Congress is gifted with the power to acknowledge it, and the Legislature, only by mere usage, sometimes neglected, assists at the birth of it by passing a precedent resolution assembling a Convention.

But when that Convention assembles

and set up a Government in place of it, because that Constitution, until acknowledge it, and the Legislature, ont in force anywhere. It could well require the people of Kansas to pass assists at the birth of it by passing a precedent resolution assembling a Convention.

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Avoing recived, since the close of the Campaign transportation to Southern produce? What guarantee have we that you will not create a new bank, and concentrate all the finances of this country at the North, where already, for the want of direct trade and a proper system of banking in the South, they are ruinously until Congress had agreed to accept it.

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Avoing recived, since the close of the Campaign to Southern produce? What guarantee have we that you will not create a new bank, and concentrate all the finances of this country at the North, where already, for the want of direct trade and a proper system of banking in the South, they are ruinously the Campaign possess a permanent value, and will be asserted to the Campaign and Documents are induced to reprint the most importance that many of these But when that Convention assembles to form a Constitution, it assembles in the highest known capacity of a people, and has no superior in this Government but a State sovereignty; or rather the State sovereignties of all the States alone can do anything with the act of that Convention. Then if that Convention assembles in the Government ad agreed to accept it. In the mean time, the Territorial Government ad intermediate to exercise all the sway over the Territory that it ever had been entitled to. The error of assumbles in the Market of the iterature of the day of the most important our slaves, or, at least, make the attempt? We cannot rely on your faith when you have the power. It has been always broken whenever pledged.

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The solume contains twenty-six of the most important our slaves, or, at least, make the attempt?

The volume contains twenty-six of the most important our slaves, or, at least, make the attempt tion was lawful, if there is no objection | torial Government, has led him into the to the Convention itself, there can be no difficulty and confusion of connecting objection to the action of the Conven- | these two Governments together. There tion; and there is no power on earth is no power to govern in the Convention, that has a right to inquire, outside of until after the adoption by Congress of

If the Senator from Illinois, whom regard as the Ajax Telamon of this debate, does not press the question of ment, for all the purposes for which the frauds, I shall have little or nothing to say about that. The whole history of Kansas is a disgusting one, from the people can assemble and act together. beginning to the end. I have avoided do not doubt that there might be some | reading it as much as I could. Had I been a Senator before, I should have committed in the formation of a Con- felt it my duty, perhaps, to have done vention, as might authorize Congress to so; but not expecting to be one, I am investigate them, but I can scarcely ignorant, fortunately, in a great measconceive of any. And when a State ure, of details; and I was glad to hear knocks at the door for admission, Con- the acknowledgment of the Senator from Illinois, since it excuses me from the

I hear, on the other side of the Cham. her people must necessarily be taken ber, a great deal said about "gigantic and stupendous frauds;" and the Senam assuming, of course, that her bound- ator from New York, yesterday, in poraries are settled, and her population traying the character of his party and the opposite one, laid the whole of those frauds upon the Pro-Slavery party the will of the people of Kansas is to be To listen to him, you would have supfound in the action of her Constitutional posed that the regiments of immigrants Convention. It is immaterial whether recruited in the purlieus of the great cities of the North, and sent out, armed of Kansas now, or not. The Conven- and equipped with Sharpe's rifles and bowie knives and revolvers, to conquer sons of color in a high social position in those by a majority of the people of Kansas. freedom for Kansas, stood by, meek saints, innocent as doves, and harmless as lambs brought up to the sacrifice. not be agreeable to a majority of the General Lane's lambs! They remind one of the famous "lambs" of Colone in the succeeding January; and if Legislatures are to be allowed to put to lily resemblance. I presume that there vote the acts of a Convention, and have were frauds; and that, if there were them annulled by a subsequent influx of frauds, they were equally great on all immigrants, there is no finality. If you sides; and that any investigation into were to send back the Lecompton Con- them on this floor, or by a commission, would end in nothing but disgrace to But, sir, the true object of the dis-

cussion on the other side of the Cham-

ber is to agitate the question of Slavery. leaders on the other side of the House If this was a minority Constitution, I party in the North, and destroy Why has not this majority come forward making it a Free State when they had Free State as soon as they have effected chief object here is to agitate Slavery. and is to be; and to discuss its effect upon our political institutions, and ascertain how long those institutions will The Senator from New York entered

hold together with Slavery ineradicable. very fairly into this field yesterday. I was surprised, the other day, when he so openly said, "the battle had been surprised to hear him say so. I thought

we admit Kansas with the Lecompton Constitution-what guarantees are there that Congress will not again interfere question that the Senator from Illinois with the affairs of Kansas? Meaning, has, I believe, repeatedly asked; and suppose, that if she abolished Slavery, that is, what were the legal powers of what guarantee there was that Congress ferred upon Congress, among other pow-ers, the anthority of administering such formation and adoption of the Lecomp-far as we of the South are concerned, tenance of stock, lumber, manures, expenses of manures, expenses, and in all those colomies, lad in all those colomies, lad is abundant, and complete of the labore. They do with the expenses of manures, expenses of manu

THE BEAUTIES OF SLAVERY.

American Society presents some sad phases, which we hope will scarcely be credited by our descendants in the next century. Here is a sample from the diary of a young lady, lately employed as a governess in a village of the "During the short time I remained down

South, I was unceasingly reminded of the sad consequences of Slavery. I will tell you one in stance, for I know it will not be words wasted. "On my return from church, the first Sunday of my stay there, the door was opened by bright and intelligent-looking slave girl of apparently nine years.
"I wanted to make her acquaintance, and

asked her what her name was. " 'Aggy, ma'am.'

"'Aggy,' I inquired, 'what church is that " Presbyterian, ma'am."

" Do you ever go to church, Aggy?' "'Oh, yes, ma'am; I am going to night.'

" 'And can you read?' "' No, ma'am; colored people don't read."

" 'How old are you, Aggy? " 'I don't know." " When you go to church, do you under-

tand what the minister says? " 'Yes, ma'am.' " Where are your father and mother?" " 'My father is dead, but my mother was sold away when I was little. I was sold here

Richmond, but I don't know where she is.' " Who owns you, Aggy?' " 'A woman in Maine street, and she hired me out to the lady I live with."

" Should you like to see your mother, Aggy?'
"'Yes,' she said, and gave me the softest

and most touching look, as she averted her head. " One question more. Have you

brothers and sisters?' I asked. "'I had four ma'am,' she replied, 'but the were all sold away.'

"I left her, for her history was told. 'Twas

to seek for the will of the people, you are wandering in a wilderness—a wilderness of thorns.

leaders of the other side of the fatal think bill. I think they would consider it a vastly greater victory to crush out the Democratic precipitated down the Shin Hollow Embankcrashing into the river on the Lafayette and Indianapolis road was a Cincinnati express train. The train that pitched off the track at Penn Yan was a New York express train. All these disasters have happened since the sumfor they are administered by majorities. after year the majority in Kansas was mer time-tables were adopted in May, increasand limb rarely happens except to or by means

But the travelling public love to ride in one of these "Lightning Runs," which whizzes them over the track at a rate as dangerous as it is delightful. They love a speed which grinds the rails, racks the axles, strains the timbers, renders it impossible to stop in time to avoid accident, and insures death and destruction when accident does occur. So the danger is incurred to please the passengers.

"The Drama's laws the Drama's patrons give, And those who live to please, must please, to live And by a similar necessity railway managers are forced to adopt time tables to suit publi opinion, though they know the hazard of acident, and the certainty of ruinous " wear and

tear," which they involve. Speed should be proportioned to strength o material. This is not a matter of chance, but of calculation. Giving the speed of a train, and the strength of wood and iron, it is a mere sum in arithmetic to determine whether a car can be crushed to atoms, or can only be wrenched and jolted, by going off the track. Speed should be the secondary, safety the primary consideration. Better arrive an hour later, than run the risk of being killed or maimed for life, on the way.

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